

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW
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INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 182210 TOSEC 080073

EXDIS; FROM AF MR. MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: BRITISH REDRAFT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL

1. SUMMARY: BRITISH PROPOSING THREE BASIC CHANGES IN
DRAFT STATEMENT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. OWEN FEELS VERY
STRONGLY THAT LANGUAGE CHARACTERIZING ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT
FUND MUST MAKE MORE EXPLICIT THE LINKAGE BETWEEN FUND'S
ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUATION AND NEW GOVERNMENT'S
ACCEPTANCE AND COMPLIANCE WITH PENSION AND OTHER OBLIGA-
TIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, OWEN INSISTING THAT PUBLIC STATEMENT
OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS INCLUDE LANGUAGE ON ZIMBABWE
DEVELOPMENT FUND VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO QUOTE PRIVATE
MINUTE UNQUOTE TO WHICH YOU AND HE AGREED. UK REDRAFT
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ALSO OMITS DISCUSSION OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, THOUGH
DOES MAINTAIN REFERENCE TO WHAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE A MORE
CIRCUMSCRIBED UN ROLE. REDRAFT ALSO HIGHLIGHTS CERTAIN
PROVISIONS OF TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION, PRINCIPALLY THOSE
FAVORABLE TO WHITES. UK CHANGES CLEARLY DESIGNED TO
ENHANCE APPEAL OF PROPOSALS TO RHODESIAN WHITES AND
CONSERVATIVE BRITONS WITHOUT SUFFICIENTLY TAKING INTO
ACCOUNT POTENTIAL NEGATIVE REACTION OF NATIONALISTS,
OTHER AFRICANS AND IMPORTANT CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC
ELEMENTS WITHIN US. AT MEETING WITH BRITISH EMBASSY

MINISTER MORETON IN DEPARTMENT, MORNING AUGUST 3, WE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER BRITISH CHANGES, SUGGESTED SOME ALTERNATIVES, AND NOTED THAT FINAL DECISION IN THESE MATTERS WOULD BE MADE BY YOU. END SUMMARY.

2. ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. MORETON EMPHASIZED, AS OWEN DID IN HIS LETTER TO YOU, FOREIGN SECRETARY'S DEEP CONCERN THAT LINKAGE BETWEEN IMPLEMENTATION OF FUND AND ACCEPTANCE OF ALL SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE RELATING TO PENSIONS AND OTHER MEASURES INDUCING WHITE CONFIDENCE, MUST BE MADE MORE SPECIFIC IN PUBLIC DOCUMENT.

3. ACCORDING TO MORETON, QUOTE OWEN IS NOT PREPARED TO PUT HIS NAME ON A DOCUMENT WHICH WATERS DOWN THE LINKAGE MORE UNQUOTE. THE OPERATIVE SENTENCE WITH WHICH THE BRITISH NOW TAKE ISSUE IS THE FOLLOWING WHICH WAS AGREED UPON IN CONVERSATIONS WITH GRAHAM LAST WEEK ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS: QUOTE THE U.S. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS REGARD THE SOUND MANAGEMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND IN PARTICULAR THE CLIMATE OF ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE BRED IN PART BY THE INDEPENDENT SECRET

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GOVERNMENT'S OBSERVANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT AS THE ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF SUPPORT BY THE FUND UNQUOTE. IN PLACE OF THIS ADMITTEDLY CONTORTED FORMULATION, OWEN IS DEMANDING THAT WE INSERT VIRTUALLY THE SAME LANGUAGE AGREED UPON IN HIS PRIVATE MINUTE WITH YOU. UK WANTS SENTENCE TO READ QUOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND IS REGARDED BY THE BRITISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS AS CONDITIONAL UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS AS A WHOLE UNQUOTE.

4. WE NOTED THE FACT THIS LANGUAGE HAD BEEN PLACED IN A PRIVATE MINUTE INDICATED OUR RELUCTANCE TO USE SUCH AN EXPLICIT PUBLIC FORMULATION AT THIS TIME. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRIVATE MINUTE WOULD MOST PROBABLY BECOME KNOWN IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT AS WELL DO AWAY WITH IT IF THE PUBLIC STATEMENT WERE REDRAFTED ALONG THE LINES OWEN IS SUGGESTING. WE OFFERED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE WHICH WE FEEL MEETS THE CONCERNS OF BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS: QUOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUING OPERATION OF THE FUND IS PREDICATED ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE UNQUOTE. WE NOTED THAT OUR SUGGESTED LANGUAGE WOULD ELIMINATE THE TERM QUOTE CONDITIONAL UNQUOTE, WHICH WE FIND OBJECTIONABLE, AND WOULD ALSO AVOID PLACING THE ENTIRE ONUS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION OF THE FUND UPON THE U.S. AND UK ALONE AMONG ALL DONORS.

5. WE NOTED THAT WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OWEN'S CONCERN ABOUT ENLISTING BOTH RHODESIAN AND DOMESTIC BRITISH SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSALS, BUT ALSO ASSERTED THAT WE MUST CONSIDER THE REACTION OF THE NATIONALISTS AND OTHER AFRICANS. IF WE CAST THE PUBLIC DOCUMENT IN A LIGHT WHICH APPEARS TO OVERLY FAVOR THE RHODESIAN WHITES, WE COULD LOSE SUPPORT WHICH WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR PLAN. WE ALSO STRESSED THAT ULTIMATE DECISION
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ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE YOURS AS YOU HAVE EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THIS TOPIC, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO HOW WE MIGHT BEST PRESENT THE FUND TO AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND CONGRESS.

6. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. PARAGRAPH 12 OF THE PREVIOUS DRAFT SIMPLY READ: QUOTE AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B UNQUOTE. BRITISH NOW SEEK TO ADD FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE:

QUOTE: ANNEX B ALSO DESCRIBES CERTAIN PROVISIONS WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INSTRUMENT ESTABLISHING THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH VARIOUS LEGAL PROBLEMS FLOWING FROM THE RESTORATION OF LAWFUL GOVERNMENT AND THE EVENTUAL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THESE ARE THE VALIDATION IN THE INTEREST OF ORDERLY ADMINISTRATION, AND WITH CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS, OF LAWS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE AND TRANSACTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT SINCE 11 NOVEMBER 1965: THE ADAPTATION OF EXISTING LAWS TO FIT THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS: AN AMNESTY FOR UNLAWFUL ACTIONS COMMITTED SINCE 11 NOVEMBER 1965, IN SUPPORT OF THE REBELLION OR IN RESISTANCE TO IT: AND THE INHERITANCE BY THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, AS THE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, NOT ONLY OF ALL THE ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AS ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE 1961 CONSTITUTION BUT ALSO OF THE ORDINARY DOMESTIC ASSETS AND LIABILITIES ACQUIRED OR INCURRED BY THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION UNQUOTE.

7. WE ARGUED THAT BY SINGLING OUT THE INCIDENTAL ISSUES OF VALIDATION OF LAWS (SOME OF WHICH ARE DISCRIMINATORY IN NATURE, BUT MAY HAVE TO BE RETAINED DURING THE
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TRANSITIONAL PERIOD), AMNESTY AND ASSUMPTION OF LIABILITIES OF SMITH REGIME, THE BRITISH WERE UNDULY HIGHLIGHTING ISSUES WHICH MIGHT PROMPT NEGATIVE AFRICAN REACTION. WE NOTED THAT THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED IN ANNEX B AT LENGTH IN THAT IN HIS PRESENTATION TO

RHODESIAN WHITES AND TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT, OWEN COULD

CERTAINLY REFER TO THEM. WE STATED THAT WE WOULD PREFER TO RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL ONE-LINE FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 12 OR FAILING THAT, TO EXPAND THE DISCUSSION OF ANNEX B IN SUCH A WAY AS TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO SOME OTHER ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN THAT DOCUMENT: E.G., ROLE OF THE CARETAKER COMMISSIONER, BILL OF RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL JUDICIARY, PUBLIC SERVICE, ETC.

8. FINAL MAJOR CHANGE BRITISH PROPOSE RELATES TO ISSUE OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, REFERENCE TO WHICH THEY SEEK TO OMIT FROM THE PAPER. THE INITIAL DRAFT CONTAINED FOLLOWING PERTINENT PARAGRAPHS:

QUOTE:

THE U.S. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WILL INTRODUCE INTO THE SECURITY COUNCIL A PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND A DEPUTY, TO BE APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE: WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT SECRET

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EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND TO SATISFY HIMSELF THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL.

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UN ZIMBABWE FORCE, WHOSE ROLE WILL BE:

(1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASE-FIRE (SEE BELOW) AND SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER AT

THE REQUEST OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL
IN CONSULTATION WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN;

(11) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED
FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION
ARMIES.

(111) THE FORMATION AND TRAINING OF A NEW
ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY.

THE PRECISE ROLE AND CHAIN OF COMMAND FOR THE
UN ZIMBABWE FORCE WILL BE A MATTER FOR
AGREEMENT BETWEEN HMG, FOR AND ON BEHALF OF
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THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, AND THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE UN.

(D) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UN, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH AND U.S.
GOVERNMENTS, OF AN OFFICER TO TAKE COMMAND OF
THE UN ZIMBABWE FORCE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
WILL APPOINT THE SAME MAN TO TAKE COMMAND OF
ALL OTHER MILITARY FORCES LEGALLY OPERATING
WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA, I.E., THE
EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, THE
LIBERATION ARMIES AND THE NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL
ARMY. -

(E) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE
OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD WILL BE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY
WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER
OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND
RESPONSIBLE TO THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. THE
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON
OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES.

UNQUOTE.

9. THE NEW DRAFT READS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE
SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE
CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE
TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER
WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

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(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING THE FORCES NOW OPERATING AS THE FORCES OF THE REGIME AND THE LIBERATION ARMIES.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL.

(C) THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BE INVITED TO AUTHORIZE THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO NOMINATE A REPRESENTATIVE WHO, TOGETHER WITH THE PERSON DESIGNATED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AS THEIR CHOICE FOR THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, WILL ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNING THE FUTURE ROLE AND STATUS OF ALL MILITARY FORCES NOW OPERATING IN RHODESIA. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, AND WITH THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE DETAILS OF THE ROLE AND STATUS OF THE UN WILL THEN BE REGULATED BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF
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LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES.

END QUOTE.

10. WE TOLD BRITISH THAT WE SEE NO PROBLEM ELIMINATING, AS THEY HAVE FROM THE EARLIER DRAFT, REFERENCE TO CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, THE UK AND THE US PRIOR TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE UN'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

HOWEVER, WE NOTED THAT THE COMPLETE OMISSION OF THE MENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A UN FORCE BEING CALLED FOR IS SURPRISING, AND FAILS TO SPEAK TO A CENTRAL QUESTION OF THE SETTLEMENT: HOW LAW AND ORDER WILL BE MAINTAINED DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND HOW AGREEMENT ON SUCH ARRANGEMENTS IS TO BE REACHED. WE ALSO NOTED THAT SUBPARA C WAS UNCLEAR IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ADDITIONAL UN REPRESENTATIVE (WHO COULD BE THE SAME MAN) TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS ABOUT MILITARY FORCES.

11. THE BRITISH NOTED THAT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS DID NOT INDICATE THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN OWEN'S THINKING ABOUT A UN FORCE, BUT THAT RATHER, FROM

A TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW, OWEN WISHED TO AVOID SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF A UN FORCE WHICH HE FEELS COULD GET US BOGGED DOWN IN QUESTIONS RELATING TO CHAIN OF COMMAND, COMPOSITION, ETC., AT THIS EARLY STAGE. WE COMMENTED THAT UK VERSION WOULD RUN THE RISK OF HAVING US SUPPORT A UN FORCE PRIVATELY, BUT DODGE THE ISSUE PUBLICLY. MORETON TOOK OUR POINTS. HE AGREED THAT HE WOULD SUGGEST
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TO LONDON THAT PARAGRAPH 11 BE REDRAFTED TO ELIMINATE CONFUSION AND TO AT LEAST MAKE REFERENCE TO THE POTENTIALITY OF A UN FORCE BEING CALLED INTO BEING.

12. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON NEW BRITISH PROPOSALS WILL FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

CHRISTOPHER

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TO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 182210 ACTION USDEL SECRETARY
INFO USUN NY LONDON 03 AUG 77

QUOTE

SECRET STATE 182210 TOSEC 080073

EXDIS; FROM AF MR. MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

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1. SUMMARY: BRITISH PROPOSING THREE BASIC CHANGES IN
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FUND MUST MAKE MORE EXPLICIT THE LINKAGE BETWEEN FUND'S
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MINISTER MORETON IN DEPARTMENT, MORNING AUGUST 3, WE
EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER BRITISH CHANGES, SUGGESTED SOME
ALTERNATIVES, AND NOTED THAT FINAL DECISION IN THESE
MATTERS WOULD BE MADE BY YOU. END SUMMARY.

2. ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. MORETON EMPHASIZED, AS
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ACCEPTANCE OF ALL SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS, ESPECIALLY
THOSE RELATING TO PENSIONS AND OTHER MEASURES INDUCING

WHITE CONFIDENCE, MUST BE MADE MORE SPECIFIC IN PUBLIC DOCUMENT.

3. ACCORDING TO MORETON, QUOTE OWEN IS NOT PREPARED TO PUT HIS NAME ON A DOCUMENT WHICH WATERS DOWN THE LINKAGE
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MORE UNQUOTE. THE OPERATIVE SENTENCE WITH WHICH THE BRITISH NOW TAKE ISSUE IS THE FOLLOWING WHICH WAS AGREED UPON IN CONVERSATIONS WITH GRAHAM LAST WEEK ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS: QUOTE THE U.S. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS REGARD THE SOUND MANAGEMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND IN PARTICULAR THE CLIMATE OF ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE BRED IN PART BY THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT'S OBSERVANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT AS THE ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF SUPPORT BY THE FUND UNQUOTE. IN PLACE OF THIS ADMITTEDLY CONTORTED FORMULATION, OWEN IS DEMANDING THAT WE INSERT VIRTUALLY THE SAME LANGUAGE AGREED UPON IN HIS PRIVATE MINUTE WITH YOU. UK WANTS SENTENCE TO READ QUOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND IS REGARDED BY THE BRITISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS AS CONDITIONAL UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS AS A WHOLE UNQUOTE.

4. WE NOTED THE FACT THIS LANGUAGE HAD BEEN PLACED IN A PRIVATE MINUTE INDICATED OUR RELUCTANCE TO USE SUCH AN EXPLICIT PUBLIC FORMULATION AT THIS TIME. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRIVATE MINUTE WOULD MOST PROBABLY BECOME KNOWN IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT AS WELL DO AWAY WITH IT IF THE PUBLIC STATEMENT WERE REDRAFTED ALONG THE LINES OWEN IS SUGGESTING. WE OFFERED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE WHICH WE FEEL MEETS THE CONCERNS OF BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS: QUOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUING OPERATION OF THE FUND IS PREDICATED ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE UNQUOTE. WE NOTED THAT OUR SUGGESTED LANGUAGE WOULD ELIMINATE THE TERM QUOTE CONDITIONAL UNQUOTE, WHICH WE FIND OBJECTIONABLE, AND WOULD ALSO AVOID PLACING THE ENTIRE ONUS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION OF THE FUND UPON THE U.S. AND UK ALONE AMONG ALL DONORS.

5. WE NOTED THAT WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OWEN'S CONCERN
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ABOUT ENLISTING BOTH RHODESIAN AND DOMESTIC BRITISH SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSALS, BUT ALSO ASSERTED THAT WE MUST CONSIDER THE REACTION OF THE NATIONALISTS AND OTHER AFRICANS. IF WE CAST THE PUBLIC DOCUMENT IN A LIGHT WHICH APPEARS TO OVERLY FAVOR THE RHODESIAN WHITES, WE

COULD LOSE SUPPORT WHICH WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR PLAN. WE ALSO STRESSED THAT ULTIMATE DECISION ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE YOURS AS YOU HAVE EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THIS TOPIC, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO HOW WE MIGHT BEST PRESENT THE FUND TO AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND CONGRESS.

6. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. PARAGRAPH 12 OF THE PREVIOUS DRAFT SIMPLY READ: QUOTE AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B UNQUOTE. BRITISH NOW SEEK TO ADD FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE:

QUOTE: ANNEX B ALSO DESCRIBES CERTAIN PROVISIONS WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INSTRUMENT ESTABLISHING THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH VARIOUS LEGAL PROBLEMS FLOWING FROM THE RESTORATION OF LAWFUL GOVERNMENT AND THE EVENTUAL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THESE ARE THE VALIDATION IN THE INTEREST OF ORDERLY ADMINISTRATION, AND WITH CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS, OF LAWS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE AND TRANSACTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT SINCE 11 NOVEMBER 1965: THE ADAPTATION OF EXISTING LAWS TO FIT THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS: AN AMNESTY FOR UNLAWFUL ACTIONS COMMITTED SINCE 11 NOVEMBER 1965, IN SUPPORT OF THE REBELLION OR IN RESISTANCE TO IT: AND THE INHERITANCE BY THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, AS THE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, NOT ONLY OF ALL THE ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AS ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE 1961 SECRET

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CONSTITUTION BUT ALSO OF THE ORDINARY DOMESTIC ASSETS AND LIABILITIES ACQUIRED OR INCURRED BY THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION UNQUOTE.

7. WE ARGUED THAT BY SINGLING OUT THE INCIDENTAL ISSUES OF VALIDATION OF LAWS (SOME OF WHICH ARE DISCRIMINATORY IN NATURE, BUT MAY HAVE TO BE RETAINED DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD), AMNESTY AND ASSUMPTION OF LIABILITIES OF SMITH REGIME, THE BRITISH WERE UNDULY HIGHLIGHTING ISSUES WHICH MIGHT PROMPT NEGATIVE AFRICAN REACTION. WE NOTED THAT THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED IN ANNEX B AT LENGTH IN THAT IN HIS PRESENTATION TO RHODESIAN WHITES AND TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT, OWEN COULD

CERTAINLY REFER TO THEM. WE STATED THAT WE WOULD PREFER TO RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL ONE-LINE FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 12 OR FAILING THAT, TO EXPAND THE DISCUSSION OF ANNEX B IN SUCH A WAY AS TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO SOME OTHER ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN THAT DOCUMENT: E.G., ROLE OF THE CARETAKER COMMISSIONER, BILL OF RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL JUDICIARY, PUBLIC SERVICE, ETC.

8. FINAL MAJOR CHANGE BRITISH PROPOSE RELATES TO ISSUE OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, REFERENCE TO WHICH THEY SEEK TO OMIT FROM THE PAPER. THE INITIAL DRAFT CONTAINED FOLLOWING PERTINENT PARAGRAPHS:

QUOTE:

THE U.S. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WILL INTRODUCE INTO THE SECURITY COUNCIL A PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND A DEPUTY, TO BE
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APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE: WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND TO SATISFY HIMSELF THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL.

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UN ZIMBABWE FORCE, WHOSE ROLE WILL BE:

(1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASE-FIRE (SEE BELOW) AND SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER AT THE REQUEST OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL IN CONSULTATION WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN;

(11) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES.

SECRET

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(111) THE FORMATION AND TRAINING OF A NEW
ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY.

THE PRECISE ROLE AND CHAIN OF COMMAND FOR THE
UN ZIMBABWE FORCE WILL BE A MATTER FOR
AGREEMENT BETWEEN HMG, FOR AND ON BEHALF OF

THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, AND THE SECRETARY
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(D) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UN, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH AND U.S.
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THE UN ZIMBABWE FORCE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
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LIBERATION ARMIES AND THE NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL
ARMY. -

(E) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE
OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD WILL BE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY
WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER
OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND
RESPONSIBLE TO THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL. THE
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON
OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES.

UNQUOTE.

9. THE NEW DRAFT READS AS FOLLOWS:

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QUOTE: THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE
SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE
CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE
TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER
WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER
UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS
ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND
A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL
BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND TO ORGANIZE AND
CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD
NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE

FOR ZIMBABWE AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING THE FORCES NOW OPERATING AS THE FORCES OF THE REGIME AND THE LIBERATION ARMIES.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL.

(C) THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL BE INVITED TO AUTHORIZE THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO NOMINATE A REPRESENTATIVE WHO, TOGETHER WITH THE PERSON DESIGNATED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AS THEIR CHOICE FOR THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, WILL ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNING THE FUTURE ROLE AND STATUS OF ALL MILITARY FORCES NOW OPERATING IN
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RHODESIA. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, AND WITH THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE DETAILS OF THE ROLE AND STATUS OF THE UN WILL THEN BE REGULATED BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES.

END QUOTE.

10. WE TOLD BRITISH THAT WE SEE NO PROBLEM ELIMINATING, AS THEY HAVE FROM THE EARLIER DRAFT, REFERENCE TO CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL, THE UK AND THE US PRIOR TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE UN'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. HOWEVER, WE NOTED THAT THE COMPLETE OMISSION OF THE MENTION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A UN FORCE BEING CALLED FOR IS SURPRISING, AND FAILS TO SPEAK TO A CENTRAL QUESTION OF THE SETTLEMENT: HOW LAW AND ORDER WILL BE MAINTAINED DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND HOW AGREEMENT ON SUCH ARRANGEMENTS IS TO BE REACHED. WE ALSO NOTED THAT SUBPARA C WAS UNCLEAR IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ADDITIONAL UN REPRESENTATIVE (WHO COULD BE THE SAME MAN) TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS ABOUT MILITARY FORCES.

11. THE BRITISH NOTED THAT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS DID NOT
INDICATE THAT THERE HAD BEEN ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN
OWEN'S THINKING ABOUT A UN FORCE, BUT THAT RATHER, FROM

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A TACTICAL POINT OF VIEW, OWEN WISHED TO AVOID SPECIFIC
DISCUSSION OF A UN FORCE WHICH HE FEELS COULD GET US
BOGGED DOWN IN QUESTIONS RELATING TO CHAIN OF COMMAND,
COMPOSITION, ETC., AT THIS EARLY STAGE. WE COMMENTED
THAT UK VERSION WOULD RUN THE RISK OF HAVING US SUPPORT
A UN FORCE PRIVATELY, BUT DODGE THE ISSUE PUBLICLY.
MORETON TOOK OUR POINTS. HE AGREED THAT HE WOULD SUGGEST
TO LONDON THAT PARAGRAPH 11 BE REDRAFTED TO ELIMINATE
CONFUSION AND TO AT LEAST MAKE REFERENCE TO THE
POTENTIALITY OF A UN FORCE BEING CALLED INTO BEING.

12. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON NEW BRITISH PROPOSALS
WILL FOLLOW SEPTTEL.

CHRISTOPHER. UNQUOTE".

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QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 182210 TOSEC 080073

EXDIS; FROM AF MR. MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: BRITISH REDRAFT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL
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1. SUMMARY: BRITISH PROPOSING THREE BASIC CHANGES IN DRAFT STATEMENT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. OWEN FEELS VERY STRONGLY THAT LANGUAGE CHARACTERIZING ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND MUST MAKE MORE EXPLICIT THE LINKAGE BETWEEN FUND'S ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUATION AND NEW GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE AND COMPLIANCE WITH PENSION AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, OWEN INSISTING THAT PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS INCLUDE LANGUAGE ON ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO QUOTE PRIVATE MINUTE UNQUOTE TO WHICH YOU AND HE AGREED. UK REDRAFT ALSO OMITTS DISCUSSION OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, THOUGH DOES MAINTAIN REFERENCE TO WHAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE A MORE CIRCUMSCRIBED UN ROLE. REDRAFT ALSO HIGHLIGHTS CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION, PRINCIPALLY THOSE FAVORABLE TO WHITES. UK CHANGES CLEARLY DESIGNED TO ENHANCE APPEAL OF PROPOSALS TO RHODESIAN WHITES AND CONSERVATIVE BRITONS WITHOUT SUFFICIENTLY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT POTENTIAL NEGATIVE REACTION OF NATIONALISTS, OTHER AFRICANS AND IMPORTANT CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ELEMENTS WITHIN US. AT MEETING WITH BRITISH EMBASSY

MINISTER MORETON IN DEPARTMENT, MORNING AUGUST 3, WE EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER BRITISH CHANGES, SUGGESTED SOME ALTERNATIVES, AND NOTED THAT FINAL DECISION IN THESE MATTERS WOULD BE MADE BY YOU. END SUMMARY.

2. ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND. MORETON EMPHASIZED, AS OWEN DID IN HIS LETTER TO YOU, FOREIGN SECRETARY'S DEEP CONCERN THAT LINKAGE BETWEEN IMPLEMENTATION OF FUND AND ACCEPTANCE OF ALL SETTLEMENT PROVISIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE RELATING TO PENSIONS AND OTHER MEASURES INDUCING WHITE CONFIDENCE, MUST BE MADE MORE SPECIFIC IN PUBLIC
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DOCUMENT.

3. ACCORDING TO MORETON, QUOTE OWEN IS NOT PREPARED TO PUT HIS NAME ON A DOCUMENT WHICH WATERS DOWN THE LINKAGE MORE UNQUOTE. THE OPERATIVE SENTENCE WITH WHICH THE BRITISH NOW TAKE ISSUE IS THE FOLLOWING WHICH WAS AGREED UPON IN CONVERSATIONS WITH GRAHAM LAST WEEK ON AN AD REFERENDUM BASIS: QUOTE THE U.S. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS REGARD THE SOUND MANAGEMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND IN PARTICULAR THE CLIMATE OF ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE BRED IN PART BY THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT'S OBSERVANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT AS THE ESSENTIAL BASIS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF SUPPORT BY THE FUND UNQUOTE. IN PLACE OF THIS ADMITTEDLY CONTORTED FORMULATION, OWEN IS DEMANDING THAT WE INSERT VIRTUALLY THE SAME LANGUAGE AGREED UPON IN HIS PRIVATE MINUTE WITH YOU. UK WANTS SENTENCE TO READ QUOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND IS REGARDED BY THE BRITISH AND U.S. GOVERNMENTS AS CONDITIONAL UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS AS A WHOLE UNQUOTE.

4. WE NOTED THE FACT THIS LANGUAGE HAD BEEN PLACED IN A PRIVATE MINUTE INDICATED OUR RELUCTANCE TO USE SUCH AN EXPLICIT PUBLIC FORMULATION AT THIS TIME. WE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PRIVATE MINUTE WOULD MOST PROBABLY BECOME KNOWN IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER AND SUGGESTED THAT WE MIGHT AS WELL DO AWAY WITH IT IF THE PUBLIC STATEMENT WERE REDRAFTED ALONG THE LINES OWEN IS SUGGESTING. WE OFFERED ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE WHICH WE FEEL MEETS THE CONCERNS OF BOTH OF OUR GOVERNMENTS: QUOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUING OPERATION OF THE FUND IS PREDICATED ON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE UNQUOTE. WE NOTED THAT OUR SUGGESTED LANGUAGE WOULD ELIMINATE THE TERM QUOTE CONDITIONAL UNQUOTE, WHICH WE FIND OBJECTIONABLE, AND WOULD ALSO AVOID PLACING
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THE ENTIRE ONUS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION OF THE FUND UPON THE U.S. AND UK ALONE AMONG ALL DONORS.

5. WE NOTED THAT WE ARE SYMPATHETIC TO OWEN'S CONCERN ABOUT ENLISTING BOTH RHODESIAN AND DOMESTIC BRITISH SUPPORT FOR THE PROPOSALS, BUT ALSO ASSERTED THAT WE MUST CONSIDER THE REACTION OF THE NATIONALISTS AND OTHER AFRICANS. IF WE CAST THE PUBLIC DOCUMENT IN A LIGHT WHICH APPEARS TO OVERLY FAVOR THE RHODESIAN WHITES, WE COULD LOSE SUPPORT WHICH WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR PLAN. WE ALSO STRESSED THAT ULTIMATE DECISION ON THIS MATTER WOULD BE YOURS AS YOU HAVE EXPRESSED GREAT INTEREST IN THIS TOPIC, ESPECIALLY IN RELATION TO HOW WE MIGHT BEST PRESENT THE FUND TO AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND CONGRESS.

6. TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS. PARAGRAPH 12 OF THE PREVIOUS DRAFT SIMPLY READ: QUOTE AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B UNQUOTE. BRITISH NOW SEEK TO ADD FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE:

QUOTE: ANNEX B ALSO DESCRIBES CERTAIN PROVISIONS WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE INSTRUMENT ESTABLISHING THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH VARIOUS LEGAL PROBLEMS FLOWING FROM THE RESTORATION OF LAWFUL GOVERNMENT AND THE EVENTUAL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THESE ARE THE VALIDATION IN THE INTEREST OF ORDERLY ADMINISTRATION, AND WITH CERTAIN EXCEPTIONS, OF LAWS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE AND TRANSACTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT SINCE 11 NOVEMBER 1965: THE ADAPTATION OF EXISTING LAWS TO FIT THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS: AN AMNESTY FOR UNLAWFUL ACTIONS COMMITTED SINCE 11 NOVEMBER 1965, IN SUPPORT OF THE REBELLION OR IN RESISTANCE TO IT:
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AND THE INHERITANCE BY THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, AS THE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, NOT ONLY OF ALL THE ASSETS AND LIABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AS ORIGINALLY ESTABLISHED BY THE 1961 CONSTITUTION BUT ALSO OF THE ORDINARY DOMESTIC ASSETS AND LIABILITIES ACQUIRED OR INCURRED BY THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION UNQUOTE.

7. WE ARGUED THAT BY SINGLING OUT THE INCIDENTAL ISSUES OF VALIDATION OF LAWS (SOME OF WHICH ARE DISCRIMINATORY IN NATURE, BUT MAY HAVE TO BE RETAINED DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD), AMNESTY AND ASSUMPTION OF LIABILITIES OF SMITH REGIME, THE BRITISH WERE UNDULY HIGHLIGHTING ISSUES WHICH MIGHT PROMPT NEGATIVE AFRICAN REACTION. WE NOTED THAT THESE MATTERS ARE DISCUSSED IN ANNEX B AT LENGTH IN THAT IN HIS PRESENTATION TO RHODESIAN WHITES AND TO BRITISH PARLIAMENT, OWEN COULD

CERTAINLY REFER TO THEM. WE STATED THAT WE WOULD PREFER TO RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL ONE-LINE FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 12 OR FAILING THAT, TO EXPAND THE DISCUSSION OF ANNEX B IN SUCH A WAY AS TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO SOME OTHER ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN THAT DOCUMENT: E.G., ROLE OF THE CARETAKER COMMISSIONER, BILL OF RIGHTS, INDIVIDUAL JUDICIARY, PUBLIC SERVICE, ETC.

8. FINAL MAJOR CHANGE BRITISH PROPOSE RELATES TO ISSUE OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE, REFERENCE TO WHICH THEY SEEK TO OMIT FROM THE PAPER. THE INITIAL DRAFT CONTAINED FOLLOWING PERTINENT PARAGRAPHS:

QUOTE:

THE U.S. AND BRITISH GOVERNMENTS WILL INTRODUCE INTO
THE SECURITY COUNCIL A PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF
THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD
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LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS ADMINISTRATION WILL
COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) AN ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL AND A DEPUTY, TO BE
APPOINTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN
CONSULTATION WITH THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE
SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, EITHER UNDER
EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS
ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE: WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO
ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT
THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT
EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE
FOR ZIMBABWE.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND
IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH AND U.S.
GOVERNMENTS, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE
ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE ADMINISTRATOR
GENERAL AND TO SATISFY HIMSELF THAT THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANI-
ZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR
AND IMPARTIAL.

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UN ZIMBABWE FORCE, WHOSE
ROLE WILL BE:

(1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASE-FIRE (SEE
BELOW) AND SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER AT
THE REQUEST OF THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL
IN CONSULTATION WITH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN;
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(11) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED
FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION
ARMIES.

(111) THE FORMATION AND TRAINING OF A NEW
ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY.

THE PRECISE ROLE AND CHAIN OF COMMAND FOR THE
UN ZIMBABWE FORCE WILL BE A MATTER FOR
AGREEMENT BETWEEN HMG, FOR AND ON BEHALF OF

THE ADMINISTRATOR-GENERAL, AND THE SECRETARY
GENERAL OF THE UN.

(D) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
UN, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE BRITISH AND U.S.
GOVERNMENTS, OF AN OFFICER TO TAKE COMMAND OF
THE UN ZIMBABWE FORCE. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
WILL APPOINT THE SAME MAN TO TAKE COMMAND OF
ALL OTHER MILITARY FORCES LEGALLY OPERATING
WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA, I.E., THE
EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, THE
LIBERATION ARMIES AND THE NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL
ARMY.

(E) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE
OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD WILL BE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY
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WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER
UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS
ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND
A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL
BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY AND TO ORGANIZE AND
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FOR ZIMBABWE AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
OF ALL RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING THE FORCES
NOW OPERATING AS THE FORCES OF THE REGIME AND THE
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BY AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF
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END QUOTE.

10. WE TOLD BRITISH THAT WE SEE NO PROBLEM ELIMINATING,
AS THEY HAVE FROM THE EARLIER DRAFT, REFERENCE TO
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12. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON NEW BRITISH PROPOSALS
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